

Federal Bureau of Investigation

MAY 28, 1970


Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20505

ATTENTION: Deputy Director, Plans

Dear Sir:

- ☒ 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.
- ☐ 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.
- ☐ 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- ☐ 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- ☐ 5. Please note change in caption of this case.
- ☐ 6. Status of case: ☐ Completed ☐ Incomplete

Very truly yours,


J. Edgar Hoover
Director

Enc. 2

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any,
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Enver Hoxha

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DEC 24 1970

25 MAY 72

Declassified and Approved for Release
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Date: 2005

Act: DBC- 84170
28 May 70

ENVER HOXHA

TWENTY FIVE YEARS
OF STRUGGLES AND VICTORIES
ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

End #2

ENVER HOXHA

**TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE
AND VICTORY ON THE ROAD
TO SOCIALISM**

*Speech delivered at the solemn meeting dedicated to
the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country
and the victory of the people's revolution*

THE "NAIM FRASHËRI" PUBLISHING HOUSE
TIRANA, 1969



ENVER HOXHA

Dear Comrades,
Brothers and Sisters,
Dear Friends,

Today, all our people, young and old, are celebrating with great joy and grandeur the glorious jubilee — the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country from the fascist occupationists and of the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Jointly with us, this great festival is being celebrated also by the patriotic Albanians abroad, as well as by all the comrades-in-arms of the Albanian people, by the many friends of new Albania.

Allow me on this great festive day to bring to you, as well as to all our patriotic Albanian brothers wherever they are living, greetings and best wishes, to thank all the real friends of socialist Albania for their love, support to and fraternal solidarity with our country, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Council of Ministers and

of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Allow me likewise to warmly greet from this rostrum our glorious working class, the steel-like pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the builders of socialism in Albania, the laboring and patriotic peasantry, our people's intelligentsia, our heroic youth and our wonderful mothers and sisters for their gigantic work, their self-denial and countless sacrifices, for the magnificent contribution they have rendered to the building of socialism. I wish you, comrades, a joyous festival and much happiness in new Albania which you have built with your blood and sweat. Honor, prosperity and glory to our dear socialist Homeland!

At these moments of special joy and cheerfulness, when we are celebrating, free, independent and sovereign, the glorious jubilee of liberation, we remember and honor with the deepest respect all the heroic men and women partisans who shed their blood for these happy days which we are living today, all those who, in the glorious National-liberation War and in the work for building socialism, laid down their lives to cement the firm foundations of new socialist Albania. To them belongs the deep and everlasting gratitude of the entire Albanian people!

The roots of our people have been nurtured in this soil through the ages, but

it is only in these 25 years of their free socialist existence and of people's power that they have ever known happy days.

In 1912, fifty-seven years ago, the patriotic Albanian people scored a great victory, the proclamation of their independence which crowned their protracted struggles through the centuries against the occupationists. For the first time since the days of Skanderbeg, Albania emerged in the international arena as an independent and sovereign state. We recall today, with honor and respect, the heroic struggle of the patriots of the period of our national revival, their spirit of self-denial and their infinite love of country.

But the bourgeoisie and the feudals who came to power went only half way and betrayed the brilliant cause of the patriots of the period of our national revival. Albania remained in a state of poverty and ignorance and was sold off to the foreigners.

The National-liberation War, the people's Revolution, along with the expulsion and the overthrowing of the exploiting classes, realized the beautiful dream of the great patriots of Albania; they made Albania really free and independent; they embarked her on the road to progress and well-being.

The National-liberation War was a real people's war which was waged by the people and in the interest of the people. It ended with our victory over the external and internal

enemies, because, from the ranks of the people and at the decisive moment, when their existence and their future were at stake, there came into being the Communist Party of Albania, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the reliable and wise leader of all the working masses. The creation of the Party and its emergence at the head of the people in revolt and of their liberation struggle, marked a radical turning-point in the historic destiny of Albania. The Party gave the people a clear programme of action and showed them the only correct way to put it into practice.

It was under the leadership of the Party, and in the legendary clash with the most savage enemies of mankind — the Italian fascists and the German nazis that the bravery and heroism of the Albanian people, their indomitable freedom-loving spirit, their great hatred of the oppressors and enslavers, their courage and determination to fight the enemies and win, defying all sacrifices, were manifested with a force multiplied ten times over, and were reaffirmed on a new basis.

Taking a bird's eye view of twenty five years of heroic work of our Party, we see more clearly the glory of the National-liberation War, and the historic significance of the triumph of our people's revolution. They laid the steel-like foundations of new socialist Albania, they opened the bright epoch of

socialism and communism to the Albanian people.

Glory to the men and women partisans, to the Albanian sons and daughters who, arms in hand, fought over mountain and plain, with unprecedented heroism, giving the people freedom, independence, power, and opening to them the road to socialism!

Our young socialist state, which grew from the barrel of the partizan gun slammed and locked the door forever to the imperialist wolves and the anti-popular regimes. The once long-suffering Albania, oppressed by the beys and agas, a semi-colonial country and a token taken to be traded among the great powers, is today a free socialist, independent and sovereign country, master of its own destinies and invincible.

The historic aim of the proletariat, of the working people, of their revolutionary representatives — the communists, is to overthrow in their own country any anti-popular oppressive order, to abolish any sort of exploitation of man by man, to build a new society in which the working people will enjoy all their rights and be masters of their own destinies, and where everything will be in the interest and in the service of the people. Our Party and our people come to this great jubilee, head erect and breast out, for they have carried out with honor this glorious historic mission.

The objective of proletarian revolutionaries is to do everything in their power for the triumph of the great cause of socialism, not only in their own country, but also throughout the world. Our Party and our people have always held firm and raised ever higher the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of unreserved support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle in other countries, the banner of inflexible struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The twentyfive years that have elapsed since the day of liberation are a living testimony to the life-giving illumination of Marxism-Leninism, to the invincible strength of the socialist regime, they are a great affirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party, of the steel-like political unity of the Albanian people, of their work and determination to always march courageously forward on the road opened to them by people's Revolution.

We are fully entitled to be proud of the successes achieved and of the battles won in all fields. Albania is no longer that backward country of the wooden plough and thatched roofed huts, of the pinetorch and kerosine lamp, of illiteracy and malaria. Today new socialist Albania is marching with giant strides and with an irresistible revolutionary vigor towards the complete building of socialist society. We have an industry equipped with

most modern machines, a developed socialist agriculture, a very advanced and complete educational system. The former country of poor shepherds, of exhausted peasants and of the savage vendetta, has become today a country of a developed culture and art whose content may be envied even by those who measure their civilization by centuries.

In their gigantic efforts, exerted all along from the beginning of the National-liberation War to this day, our people have had to shed much blood and much sweat, they have had to fight and work encircled by savage and wily enemies, to keep the rifle always ready beside the pick. Not only our enemies, but also those who knew little about our people and our Party have frequently predicted and declared that people's Albania "would not last long". Reality, however, has completely disabused them all. Our people, under the wise and farsighted leadership of the Party, have successfully coped with all the enemies, they have courageously overcome all the difficulties, they have resolutely removed all the obstacles.

We come to the great jubilee of liberation stronger than ever. The most advanced social order — socialism — has been established in Albania on firm foundations. We meet the glorious 25th anniversary united to a man around the Party of Labor and the People's Power. Our people, workers, peasants and

people's intelligentsia, are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the triumph of revolution full of revolutionary optimism, confident of a more beautiful and happier future lying in store for our socialist Homeland, determined to work and fight with all their strength so that socialist Albania may live and thrive through centuries, so that the banner of freedom, the banner of communism may always fly proudly in our homeland.

**29 November 1944 marks the great day of our
people's true revival**

Der Comrades!

The 29th of November 1944, the day when our valiant partisans brought freedom to our Homeland, marks the great day of the real revival of our people, the boundary where the old world ends and where the new world, the brilliant epoch of socialism, begins.

The road which we have traversed during these 25 years has been one of continuous struggle in the most diverse fields and forms for the building of socialist Albania, for the complete triumph of the new world over the old world and its remnants. On this road we have had to fight against the class enemies, against numerous obstacles and difficulties, we have had to fight against the imperialist ene-

mies and the sham friends — the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, against their detestable sabotage and blockades. But just as during the National-liberation War, so also in the struggle to build socialism, our people, endowed with a lofty spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with an iron will and exemplary courage, and wisely led by the Party, have always emerged successful and have achieved one victory after another.

Following the liberation of our country and the establishment of our people's power, our people and our Party were faced with great and complicated historic tasks on whose solution depended the future of the country and the fate of socialism in Albania.

The entire old feudal-bourgeois structure and super-structure had to be overthrown, the relations of small scale production of commodities had to be radically transformed, and we had to pass over to the system of scientific socialism in the city and the countryside, in economy and culture. But it was necessary to radically transform also, the inner world of men and women, to endow them with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with socialist ideology, with communist morality. It was indispensable and urgent, likewise, to rebuild the war-ravaged country and to overcome at the most rapid rates the centuries long economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past.

Our Party relied on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the valuable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy this experience and carry it out in practice in a mechanical way. This experience and the Marxist-Leninist principles had to be implemented in a creative manner on our specific territory with its historic, geographic, economic, class, political, ideological and other peculiarities. The difficulties and dangers were great. One could break his neck at every turn, at every fundamental decision which determined the strategic direction, as well as in the tactical stand towards the implementation of these decisions.

To its honor and glory our Party, however, correctly solved both the strategic and the tactical tasks.

Within a very short time, the aftermath of war was liquidated, and the energies of the working class and of all the working masses were concentrated on the vital battle for the vigorous development of the forces of production, for the uplift and rapid progress of the whole economy. In this direction the Party followed, consistently and with unshakable determination, the course of socialist industrialization, of giving priority to industry in the development of our young socialist economy, considering it as a decisive factor of the country's development in all fields.

The socialist industrialization of the coun-

try started in the early years at slow rates and developed with a persistent struggle on the part of the Party, of the working class, and of the whole people overcoming many difficulties and obstacles. This had its own reasons. We inherited almost no industry whatever, while even that little which existed was gravely damaged by the war. The Yugoslav pseudo-allies, far from helping, sabotaged our country's industrial development by all manner of means. The Soviet aid, in the direction of industrialization, came after some delay and, at the beginning, it was limited, due to the difficult situation created in the Soviet Union as a result of the terrible war devastation. Later, this aid increased, but with the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists it began to slow down and to be sabotaged until it was cut off and replaced with a hostile blockade.

But our Party, our working class and all our people with a courageous struggle, heedless of difficulties and sacrifices, marched courageously ahead. They were not deceived by the idle talk of the Khrushchevite revisionists about the so-called «international socialist division of labor», «specialization and cooperation of production among socialist countries», etc., the objective of which is the economic and political subjugation of other countries, and aiming at making our country an agrarian appendage to their own. Our Party and our

people unwaveringly continued the correct road of socialist industrialization which was not long in yielding brilliant results that have completely changed the face of our Homeland.

From a backward agricultural country, Albania has been transformed now into an advanced agricultural-industrial one. In 1938 industrial production accounted for only 8 per cent of the total industrial-agricultural production, whereas in the year 1968 it reached 61.5 per cent. At present, the production of the "Mao Tsetung" textile combine in Berat alone, is larger than the production of the whole of the country's industry in 1938.

All over Albania there have been set up hundreds of big works of heavy and light, extraction and processing industries. Today the chimneys of the factories and plants are seen in all our cities, old and young, which have been turned into important industrial centers. Formerly the city of Fier counted 4,800 inhabitants. Its population engaged only in trade, in handicrafts and in agriculture. Today Fieri has become one of the country's largest industrial centers. Erected there are a nitrate fertilizers plant, an oil refinery, a heat-power station with a capacity of about 100,000 kilowatts, a cotton ginning factory, a brick works, etc. In the city of Fieri, which has been expanded and filled with beautiful buildings, there are employed today over 7,500 workers. The same can be said also of Lush-

nja, Kavaja, Berat, Kukës or Gjirokastra, without speaking of such cities as Tirana, Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora, etc.

The country's socialist industrialization has brought about not only quantitative changes. It has brought about also great qualitative changes. The priority development of the branches serving for the production of the means of production, which in 1968 accounted for 55,5 per cent of the total industrial output, has ensured an ever more efficient exploitation of our natural resources; it has led towards the consolidation of the country's economic independence and has ensured ever more favorable conditions for the rapid development of our economy. While in the past our country's industry was mainly represented by some small and primitive factories of the light and food industries, by handicraft and an occasional small mine, now there have been created new and modern branches such as the oil, chromium or iron-nickel industries, the chemical, machine-building and power industries, the building materials industry, etc., which are growing rapidly and constitute a sound basis for the creation and development of new branches of industry under the coming five-year plans.

Big works, equipped with a modern technology, such as the nitrate and superphosphate fertilizer plants, the machinery plants, that of tractor spare parts, the textile combines,

the construction of big hydro-power stations, like the "Mao Tse-tung" hydropower station at Vau i Dejës, or of the powerful heat-power stations like the one in Fier, the cement factories or the construction of railways, the erection of the ferrous metallurgical combine, and so many others, are eloquent proof of the high level of our economy, of the results achieved and of the vast prospects which have been opened to our national economy.

The country's electrification, as one of the decisive factors in the rapid and sure development of the whole of our national economy, is another important index clearly showing the great results of the socialist industrialization policy pursued by the Party during these 25 years. Today, in about 4 days the country produces as much electric power as that produced during the whole year 1938. The Kruja district alone consumes 3,5 times more power than the whole of pre-liberation Albania consumed. The electrification of all the villages, which is being carried out now with full success, at a time when in many European countries they cannot even think of such an undertaking, testifies best of all to the strength of our socialist country, to the growth of the country's economic possibilities, to the great solicitude displayed by the Party and the people's regime for the progress and the continuous increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of the laboring masses.

The Party policy for the country's industrialization has strengthened the whole of our national economy. It has resulted in achieving major victories not only in the field of industry and mining, but also in those of building construction, communications, commerce, etc.

During these 25 years of new Albania, jointly with the development and advance of the various industrial branches, there has also been achieved another great victory of historic and decisive importance to the country's destiny. I am referring to the creation and growth of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the standard-bearer and leader of socialist construction in Albania. Today, we have a working class large in number, endowed with a high political class consciousness and with wonderful capacities and talents. It is becoming ever more conscious of its role as the class in power. The working class is continuously tempered on the anvil of revolution, it is ever more forcefully having its decisive say, is extending its direct control over everyone and over everything. With its ideology, work and struggle, it is setting the tone today to the entire national life, leading the revolutionary movement, inspiring all the other working people by the example it sets.

Our socialist industrialization, always taking into account its particular features deriving

from Albania's specific conditions, as well as from the historic circumstances through which we have passed, has been and is being developed on correct Marxist-Leninist lines.

In the conditions of our small country, the undeviating Party line has been and remains that, by advancing at a rapid rate on the road of socialist transformations and, at the same time, of the intensive development of agriculture, to make our national economy more independent, ever more capable of standing on its own feet, preserving and consolidating thereby also the political independence of our socialist Homeland; to unremittingly strengthen its defensive power against any attempt of the imperialist and revisionist enemies who surround us; to constantly improve the well-being of our people and ever better fulfill their needs.

The Party has laid down the continuous development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, the widest possible introduction of modern science, technology and agronomy, the spreading of scientific experimentation in every field as one of the most important problems and tasks of the development of our socialist economy, of the complete building of socialism in our country.

This revolution is an integral part of our socialist revolution and is being carried out in unity with the ideological and cultural revolution. Its fundamental aim is to place

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the whole of our national economy on a higher scientific and technical basis, in order to ensure a higher labor productivity, a more vigorous development of the productive forces, in order to lighten the work of our men and women and to raise their living standards higher. The main efforts must be concentrated everywhere on the transition from handicraft forms to modern industrial production, to the introduction of new technology, to the implementation of a strict scientific discipline in all the processes of work and production, to the scientific organization and management of the national economy, to the summing up and spreading of advanced experience. The decisive condition for leading the technical and scientific revolution forward is the mobilization of all the creative living energies of the working masses and specialists, their all-round political, ideological, technical and scientific education, the continuous strengthening of their cooperation in the most diverse and the most fruitful forms.

Our road of socialist industrialization, closely combined also with the broad development of the technical and scientific revolution, has nothing in common with and is in complete opposition to the various technocratic views which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are spreading with clamour at the present time.

The ideologists of the monopoly bour-

geoisie are striving to make the working people believe that the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today is allegedly removing the ills of capitalism, that it is reforming it, liquidating the classes and class antagonisms, and replacing the capitalist owners with the technocratic administrators. On this basis they declare that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the need for proletarian revolution, have been overcome.

In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society», or «technocratic society» there lies hidden the brutal oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and the state monopoly capitalism. The modern revisionists, who have completely and absolutely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and placed themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie, have proclaimed the «technocratic society» and the technical and scientific progress, which leads to the strengthening and expansion of the state monopoly capitalism, as an «introduction of the elements of socialism in the gradual transformation of capitalism».

In the revisionist countries, technocracy, alongside with bureaucratism and as a subtle expression of it, has become one of the principal means of displacing the working class from leadership and of restoring capitalism. The economy of these countries, which the revisionists continue to call «socialist» under

the pretext that it is nationalized or collectivized, is, in reality nothing else but a capitalist economy of a special type. It is in the hands, in the service, and in the interest of of the new bourgeois class of the bureaucrats and technocrats, which has been created and continues to be consolidated. The western bourgeois theoreticians call what is happening in the revisionist countries, as the «liberalization and democratization of socialism». Thus, both sides, the bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists, converge at one and the same point, that of trying to keep capitalism alive and liquidate socialism.

But the technical and scientific revolution, and linked with it, the development of technocratism, do not and cannot save capitalism or modern revisionism from their inevitable collapse and destruction. They cannot change the objective laws of social development, particularly, that of the class struggle and revolution. The introduction on a large scale of science and technology in production, which the western capitalist monopolies and the new bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries are compelled to do because of the fierce domestic and inter-state competition and to ensure maximum profits, does, by no means, mitigate the internal and external economic and class contradictions, of the old and the new capitalism; it does not save it from the incurable and the ever more destructive crisis.

On the contrary, this aggravates further the contradictions and crises, it raises the tide of the class struggle to an ever higher degree and leads, in the final account, when the subjective factor, too, is up to the mark, to the all-conquering socialist revolution.

The Albanian people march firmly ahead on the road to the complete construction of socialist society

The successes achieved by our country in its industrialization during these twentyfive years have created the material basis which allows us to aim at transforming Albania, in the not distant future, from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. To reach this target it is indispensable that the main task of the industrial development should continue to be, in the future, too, the extension and improvement of the structure of industrial production, based on an advanced technology. For this purpose there must be created a stable internal basis of raw materials and, what is more important, we should be able to make a most rational exploitation, and with the best economic effect, of various natural resources. This will make it possible to ensure the fulfilment of the ever greater needs of the people's economy, the systematic increase of the well-being of the

people and the growth of the country's defensive power.

We shall certainly achieve these objectives, for we have a heroic, industrious and resolved people, we have a glorious and talented working class, we have our Party which, by its wise and farsighted Marxist-Leninist policy, leads us for certain towards new victories.

Our countryside and our peasantry have, likewise, undergone radical transformations. All of us have still fresh in our minds the thatched-roofed huts and the oppressed peasants of Myzeqe, the hungry highlanders of Puka and Dukagjini, the whole of our toiling and much suffering peasantry. We remember the swamps and marshes which flooded the best plains of Albania from Buna, to the South, to the Vurgu of Delvina.

But all this belongs to history, to the past. Today, all the new cooperative countryside is shining in the light of socialism. The peasant has relegated to bitter memory the age-old cult of the hunk of bread, the suffering for which persecuted him from the cradle to the grave. The agricultural cooperative which has fully extended to all the villages, is today a powerful unit of the broad and all-round agricultural and livestock production, thoroughly integrated with the general national economy and a solid basis of it. With their own forces and with the great aid of the people's power, the cooperatives today are

more and more practising intensive farming, at an ever higher level of agricultural technique.

In comparison with the pre-war level agricultural production has been increased more than three times over and the area of cultivated land has been doubled. Thanks to the land reclamation and irrigation works constructed so far, there have been reclaimed and improved about 200,000 hectares of land and the irrigation capacity, by the end of the year 1968, reached more than 240,000 hectares as against only 29,000 in 1938. At present, there are 10,500 tractors (in terms of 15 HP) at work on our fields as against 30 all told before liberation. Nowadays Albania ranks among the developed countries with regard to the use of chemical fertilizers which were not even known in this country before the war. In the year 1968 we used an average of 79 kg. of chemical fertilizers in active substance per hectare of cultivated land, while in the year 1967 Greece used 68 kg., Spain 36.8 kg., Yugoslavia 60.4 kg., Hungary 66.9 kg. and Italy 72.6 kg. of chemical fertilizers.

To the countryside and also in the life of the peasantry itself socialism has brought progress that brooks no comparison with the past. Our peasant today lives in a new house. His children attend the 8-grade school. The hospital, the outpatient clinics and the pharmacy are at his door. In many villages there

have been set up crèches and kindergartens, public bath-rooms, laundries, homes and hearths of culture. The motor-road has brought the countryside nearer to the city and every day the radio and the press bring the whole country and the whole world, to the cooperative peasants by their fireside.

The successes and victories achieved are closely connected with the Party line for the correct solution of the peasant problem which is among the most important and the most complicated problems for every country embarking on the road of socialist construction.

From the early days of liberation and onwards the Party has devoted its main attention to this vital and difficult problem, especially in our conditions, where the overwhelming percentage of the population were peasants, where the impoverished and war-ravaged countryside had to be rebuilt on new lines, unknown to it. The peasant had to stick to the land, not to abandon it due to the difficulties of the early days, because this would swell the cities with unemployed and would create a food crisis. The peasantry had to be freed from fetters of private property and to adopt the socialist way. We had to overcome the inherited backwardness and rapidly develop the forces of production in the domain of agriculture.

The Party solved this vital problem correctly. It raised and led the laboring peasantry

in the struggle against the foreign occupantists and their collaborators — the beys and agas, big land estate holders, who had robbed the peasant of his land and had enslaved him. It was in this struggle that the great alliance of the peasantry and the working class was forged, that the main social basis of the people's revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.

The consistent application of the land reform laws, the first major decision of the Party and the people's power on the solution of the peasant problem, taken immediately after liberation, brought about a deep transformation in the social relations and in the consciousness of the peasantry who witnessed the realization of their centuries-old dream of land and of casting off the heavy yoke of the bey and of the landlord. The distribution of land by the proletarian Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated the alliance of the peasantry and the working class. Let us recall for a moment the privations endured by and the heavy tasks assigned to the peasantry at the beginning. They breasted them with a high sense of duty. Their correct and inflexible attitude towards the decisions the Party and the people's power were adopting was a testimony to the loyalty of the laboring peasantry towards the Party of the proletariat, towards the working class, a testimony to their alliance with the working class which they accepted as their leadership.

for they saw the correct way of development, they foresaw the prospect of the happy life which was being built through hardships and sacrifices.

All this prepared the material and spiritual conditions for taking the next decisive steps, of passing over to the process of the socialist transformation of the countryside. Alongside the large-scale work of land reclamation, for the mechanization of agriculture, for the development of agricultural crops, of stock raising, etc., there was carried out the great struggle for the collectivization of agriculture, which, according to the consistent and, at the same time, cautious directives of the Party, gradually spread throughout the country, including, of late, the upland regions as well.

By the experience of life and thanks to the large-scale explanatory work done by the Party, the peasants became convinced of the superiority of the cooperative system, the only one that can free them from want, that can save them from all and every kind of exploitation. The world outlook of the peasantry changed radically. The psychology of individual work, of the small private property and of the narrow individual interest began to give way more and more to the feeling and consciousness of collective property, of collective work and of large-scale socialist production.

It was under these conditions that the process of uniting co-operatives into larger

ones, that scientific experimentation and the application of the technical and scientific revolution began to develop on a large scale in agriculture too; that the struggle for high yields started, that agricultural technique spread 'en masse', that the number of qualified cadres increased in the countryside, etc. The new socialist countryside finds itself today under the vigorous process of development and transformation, affecting both the production and the social and cultural fields.

The intensification of mechanization, the large-scale land reclamation and irrigation schemes, the wide use of chemicals, the ever better implementation of advanced agricultural technique, the extension of the communication network, etc., the increase of the number of specialized cadres and, in general, the rise of the educational standard of the peasant, have created proper material conditions for carrying out modern intensive farming in breadth and depth, for raising cultural and living standards of the cooperative peasant masses, to bring about an ever greater rapprochement of the production and life of the countryside with that of industry and of the city.

This revolutionary process of the vigorous development of the productive forces in agriculture and of the perfecting of socialist relations in the countryside will continue until the agricultural cooperatives are transformed from the property of the group into the property of

the entire people, until the differences between the cooperatives and the state farms are eliminated so as to reach the complete building of socialism in the countryside, to gradually narrow down and eventually liquidate the essential differences between the city and the country, between the peasantry and the working class, etc. This is the Marxist-Leninist road that leads to the classless communist society.

The correctness of the Party line with regard to the countryside, as well as the magnificent victories achieved during these 25 years become still more evident when we witness the grave and critical situation of agriculture in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

The modern revisionists, some earlier and others later, abandoned the Marxist-Leninist road of the socialist development of the countryside. They have liquidated and are liquidating the gains of socialism in the countryside. Their road is that of returning to capitalism under allegedly socialist labels.

Capitalism and the modern revisionists, under the pretext of «superindustrialisation», of the creation of «industrial society», of «complex mechanisation» of agriculture, etc., impoverish the countryside, compel the peasantry to abandon their farmsteads, introducing the grip of agrarian concerns, they depopulate the countryside and throw millions of

unemployed onto the roads, they create the reserve of slaves, which they use to increase exploitation in the city as well.

We follow a diametrically opposite course in our socialist society. Attaching first-rate importance to industrialisation and mechanisation of labor, at the same time we by no means underrate the countryside and do not advance on the road of depopulation of the villages but we develop agriculture in harmony with them. While fighting for high yields in the lowland areas, we do not neglect fighting for the rapid development of agriculture in the hilly and mountainous areas. The preservation of the right proportions in this direction is very important to the cause of socialist construction in our country, to any situation that may arise, whereas allowing the creation of discrepancies is fraught with disorders and grave economic, political, class and ideological consequences.

Agriculture is faced today with very important problems and tasks, on the solution of which the entire development of our national economy is directly dependent. For the development of the productive forces in the countryside in the present conditions of our country it is indispensable that we should aim mainly at the increase of the yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, at the extension of the area of the cultivated lands, and at the improvement and

perfecting of the structure of agricultural production.

Our patriotic laboring peasantry, led by the Party and enjoying, as always, the aid and support of the working class, will accomplish these great tasks with success, it will certainly make its life more flourishing and more prosperous.

The greatest achievement of this period is the moulding of the new man endowed with lofty revolutionary qualities

Dear Comrades,

The great historic victories, achieved by new Albania during these 25 years of the people's power on all the fronts of the struggle for the building and defence of socialism, testify to the heroism, patriotism and the high revolutionary spirit of our wonderful men and women, inspired and educated with a special care by the Party. If our country, with rare spirit of self-denial, has been able to overcome within a short period of time the countless difficulties and obstacles raised by the centuries long inherited backwardness and by the frantic hostile activity of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionary forces, if our people have built a developed socialist society and our Homeland stands as an impregnable fortress and

a beacon-light of socialism on the Adriatic coast, this is due to a large extent, to the fact that the Party has been able to create and temper the new man, equipped with a high socialist consciousness and outstanding revolutionary qualities.

We are rightfully proud of our heroic working class, of our valiant laboring peasantry, of our revolutionary youth, of our wonderful women, of our people's intelligentsia — of the whole of our people who, united as one, rallied around the Party, are marching onward fearing no tempest whatsoever. The war-time heroism has been repeated during the whole period of socialist construction and it is rising higher in the present days. It has become a distinctive feature of our society.

Let us preserve, develop and increase with every passing day these lofty qualities which the Party has forged in our men and women!

Especially in these recent years, ever since the Open Letter and the historic 5th Party Congress, in close connection with the entire process of the revolutionisation of national life, a new qualitative leap is underway for the moulding of the new man of socialist society.

The great revolutionary process which is taking place today is a continuation and deepening of our socialist revolution. It is a general offensive against all the blemishes and remnants from the old world which we

are burying, it is a great and all-round struggle to bar the road to the restoration of capitalism today and in the future, from inside or outside, it is a fierce class struggle to lead the revolution continually forward, to ensure the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

This great revolutionary process, which is taking place under the leadership of the Party and with the broad participation of the working masses, has encompassed all fields of life, of political and ideological, economic and cultural, organizational and military activities. It has set in motion everything, everybody, effecting a radical overturning of concepts, customs, traditions, in the way of living, in the manners and attitudes of men and women, in their entire work and life. Revolutionisation has created a high militant spirit, a great mobilization in work, an unexampled spirit of innovation, a steel-like unity of the people and the Party. It has encouraged as never before the revolutionary initiative, individual action and courage of the masses, which have found their powerful expression in a series of deep revolutionary movements of an economic, political and ideological character. This is a living testimony to the correctness of the Party line and a brilliant victory for it.

In the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the life of the country, the Party is courageously blazing untrodden paths;

by its experience it is making an important contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, to the enrichment of the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The importance of this experience rests in the fact that it shows how to ensure the continuity of revolution, how to build the complete socialist society and to pass over to communism, how to prevent the backward turn or interruption of the revolutionary process.

In moulding the new man, conscious worker of socialist construction, a great role has been played by the development and deepening of the revolution in the field of education and culture, as an integral part of, and closely connected with, the entire development of our revolution. The solution of this task appears still more urgent, if we do not lose sight of the backwardness which we have inherited from the past. The Party made it clear at the very outset that socialism could not be built with illiterate persons; that, to have the country advance, it was necessary to raise the educational and cultural standards of the workers and peasants.

The whole of Albania is covered by a wide network of schools of all types. Two out of every 7 persons attend school. The compulsory 8-grade education has been fully realized not only in the city, but now also in all the villages. This is at a time when today as yet in Italy over 100,000 children remain

illiterate each year, while in Yugoslavia 20 per cent and in Greece 27 per cent of the population are illiterate. In the whole of our educational system today there are serving about 23,000 teachers as against approximately 1,700 that served before liberation. The middle schools of Delvina and Konispol alone, count more pupils than all the gymnasiums of Albania in 1938, whereas one of the parallels of the tenth form of the "Qemal Stafa" middle school in Tirana counts more girls than all the country's gymnasiums had before the war. As to higher education, formerly nonexistent, Albania boasts today of 113 students for every 10,000 inhabitants, leaving behind in this field such advanced countries as Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. Our higher schools graduate today about 2,000 cadres yearly, or over 5 times as many as the total number of highly trained specialists Albania had in 1938.

Actually, our Party and our people have engaged in a great work and struggle for the revolutionization of our schools. We have now a clear and full program of action in this field. It is incumbent on us to deeply understand the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and to take all the measures to put them into practice. While giving priority to the Marxist-Leninist education of youth, our schools through a scientific combination of study with productive work

and with the physical and military training of the pupils and students, must train capable cadres, loyal and resolute fighters for the cause of communism, prepared to cope with every task and every difficulty.

In the field of culture and art, likewise, there have taken place changes so great that no parallel whatever can be drawn with the past. Only 17 cinemas, 2 museums, 5 libraries and the publication of some 180,000 copies of books comprised the entire basis of culture in the year 1938. Whereas at present, we have about 1,750 homes and hearths of culture, the cinema network has extended not only to all the large and small cities, but also to many agricultural cooperatives. Twenty-five professional theaters and variety shows, tens of public libraries, museums and house-museums contribute to the cultural and revolutionary up-bringing of the masses. During the year 1968, the «Mihal Durl» printing establishment alone printed 590 books with a total circulation of about 7 million copies. The radio is being introduced to almost all families and now work is underway for the erection of a television center which marks another important stride ahead for the dissemination of the proletarian ideology and culture.

All-round cultural and artistic activity with the active participation of the workers, peasants, young men and young women,

is today being conducted in all the parts of our Homeland. Hundreds of talented writers and artists are militating with their works for the ideals of the Party and socialism.

These successes will be further developed in the future. Just as we have done so far, we must see to it that education and culture remain free from the penetration of alien bourgeois and revisionist influences, that they always remain powerful weapons in the struggle which our people are waging in defence of our Homeland and in building socialism.

The large-scale and daily work of the Party and of the mass organisations for the communist education of our men and women, the broad development of socialist education and culture, have resulted in raising the revolutionary consciousness of the working people to a higher level. But it would be a mistake to become self-satisfied and complacent about that. We must be aware that the fight for the moulding of the new man is the most protracted, the most arduous, the most complicated and the most delicate fight, because it is precisely in this field that the resistance of the old world is greater, more stubborn and deeper. The struggle between the two socialist and capitalist ways passes through the consciousness of men. Therefore, the purging of the consciousness of the working people of all the traces and influences of the

old society and of the capitalist and revisionist world that surrounds us, the moulding of the working people with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with the norms of communist morality, with revolutionary virtues, is an indispensable condition and an integral part of the complete building of socialist society. Undervaluation in this respect and deficiencies in this field, as shown by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of certain other countries, are fraught with grave consequences.

Especially in the present epoch, when the problems and the tasks of the struggle in the ideological field are in the forefront, the persistent and scientific fight of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat for moulding the new man of socialist society, should be carried out frontally, in all directions. The whole economic and social development of our country, of the structure and superstructure, of education and culture, must serve this purpose.

On the question of the education of men and women a deep demarcation line is drawn between us and the modern revisionist renegades who seek by all their means to degenerate men spiritually, ideologically, politically and morally, in order to turn them into blind tools of their anti-Marxist and treacherous policy, into obedient slaves of the revisionist counter-revolution.

Our Party has never viewed the revolu-

tionary communist education of the working people as a mere illuminist process, the less so as a spontaneous and passive process, but as an active process of the class struggle in the fold of the people, which is carried out by the Party, by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the mass organisations, with the participation of all the working people. The Party has underlined and continues to underline that the communist education of men and women is part and parcel of the active, merciless and principled fight against all the stains and influences of alien ideologies, whether feudal, patriarchal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or revisionist, which will inevitably continue to exist for a very long time yet, to this or that extent, in the consciousness of our working people. Any concession, appeasement, compromise or opportunism towards the manifestations and influences of alien ideologies would be fatal to our cause.

This frontal struggle for the communist up-bringing of the working people, of vital importance to the fate of the revolution and socialism, places great tasks before the Party, before the social and State organisations, our schools and the family, our literature and arts, before all the organisations and institutions which form social opinion. The whole of this work should be further improved, should be made deeper, more persuasive, more militant, always correctly combining theory and practice,

explanatory ideological and political work with the mass revolutionary undertaking, education with self-education, educative measures with economic and organisational ones, etc. The attentive and continuous study of the immortal works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the documents and of the history of our glorious Party of Labor will help all the working people to master better the materialist world outlook and our vanguard theory, it will make them more capable of waging the great struggle which lies ahead for the complete building of socialism and of communist society.

The Party line for the country's industrialisation and the uninterrupted development of collectivized agriculture, the continuous efforts for the expansion of education and culture, the tireless work for the further revolutionisation of the whole national life, have not been and will never be an aim in themselves. They all serve one great aim — the all-round physical and spiritual emancipation of the working masses, the uplift of the standard of their wellbeing.

We build socialism relying on our own resources

The greatest victory reaped by our Party and our People's Regime during these 25 years in our country is the liquidation of exploita-

tion of man by man. The peasant and the worker, the employee and the intellectual, everybody, earns his living by his work and contributes to the building of socialism. The Albanian woman, this tremendous revolutionary force, that once was treated with contempt and destined only for household chores, is taking an active part in the country's political life, in social production, in factory and field, in education, culture, commerce, etc. This is another historic victory of our Party and of our People's Power.

Before the war, people in Albania died for lack of a dose of quinine. As a consequence of slave labor and poverty their average life-span did not exceed 38 years. Today there are hospitals and maternity homes in the remotest areas of the country such as that of Dukagjini. The extension of the medical service throughout the country, the erection of hospitals, clinics, outpatient clinics and infirmaries, the medical service and treatment given free of charge to the entire population, and in general, the increase of the wellbeing of our working people, have made their life happy and secure. At present, the average life-span of man in our country has lengthened and has reached 66 years.

The increase of agricultural and industrial production, the increase of national income and its just distribution have made possible the increase of the purchasing power of the

working people. In the year 1968, as against 1938 there were consumed, per capita of the population, more of the following items: Sugar and sugar-products over 2.5 times, edible fats over 2 times, vegetables and their products 2.3 times, various fabrics 10 times, all sorts of footwear 4.3 times, etc.

During these 25 years there have been built with State funds, with the aid of the State, and by the working people themselves, about 185,000 dwelling flats and houses in cities and in the countryside. This means that more than half of the present-day population of the whole country have been lodged in new dwelling houses.

The latest price reduction which was effected on the eve of this jubilee, is another testimony showing that our Party and the People's Power are firmly and consistently advancing on the road of the continuous improvement of the living standard of the working people. Another great proof of this reality is also the fact that Albania is the only country in the world where there is no tax or direct impost on the population.

The tremendous changes that have taken place from the country's liberation until today, are the fruit of the selfless work of our working people, they are the fruit of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party of Labor. In the realisation of these victories we have enjoyed also the internationalist aid

and support of our class brothers. In particular, on the occasion of this red-letter day we hail the unreserved and fraternal aid which has been and is being given to our people for the building of socialism, by the great fraternal Chinese people, by the glorious Communist Party of China and the most beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung. This aid provided us with the possibility of further developing our national economy, of successfully carrying onward the building of socialism. Our people are grateful to the fraternal Chinese people for this generous internationalist aid.

The Soviet revisionist renegades, although they realize that their blockade has been smashed to smithereens and that they have been unable to force Socialist Albania to her knees, express concern about the Albanian people for allegedly "being in straits" and "marking time" since they have received no further "credits and aid" from the Soviet Union! But we say to them: "Don't lament over those who are in the saddle. We do not want your so-called aid which is poison and a trap to enslave the people. We have the great riches of our soil; we have the sweat, the vigor, the iron will and the resourcefulness of our talented people who are skillfully extracting and utilizing these riches for their own well being and that of the cause of socialism. We have our glorious Party of Labor

which is leading the country with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage on the road of socialist construction. We say to the revisionists: "Your blockade, your brutal abrogation of economic agreements, your complete cessation supplying industrial equipment, your stealth of designs and blue-prints, our abandonment half way of the work begun, etc. may have hampered the implementation of the third five-year plan at the start, but our national economy never stopped for a single moment its victorious march onward. It emerged triumphant over your impudent blockade."

We say to them: "You are 'concerned' about our crude oil and the extraction of minerals? Don't worry! As compared with the year 1960 oil extraction in Albania has now grown by 80 per cent, whereas the production of copper ore is 4 times as large, and the same is true for chromium ore, coal, etc. Your wickedness, your mania for slander has overshadowed the logic of figures. You invent the tale that the power industry in Albania has allegedly lagged behind. Figures, show, however, that, in comparison with 1960, the production of electric power is today 4.1 times as large. The Fieri thermal-station alone, built in these recent years, is 4 times as powerful as the Ulza hydro-power station. Are you 'worried' about the training of high cadres? Then take note that in 1960 we had only 4,245 highly trained specialists, whereas today about

14,000 such specialists are serving the people. You lament over the state of our agriculture? But we tell you that at no previous time have we ever had such great successes in agriculture as during this decade. In comparison with the year 1960, the wheat yield output has grown by 90,5 per cent; thus, it has almost doubled, whereas that of maize has increased 2,2 fold.

What do these facts show? They speak of the complete failure of the revisionist plot and the great victory of our heroic Party of Labor, the victory of Marxism-Leninism also in the economic field. The collapse of the economic blockade, which is a brutal means of subjugation, testifies that the Albanian people are invincible, that they do not kowtow under pressures of this kind, just as they are not intimidated by threats and sabre-rattling.

Historic experience, in general, the reality and struggle of our country, in particular, the magnificent successes achieved by socialist Albania during these 25 years, have once more confirmed the correctness of the great Leninist principle that the internal factor in revolution and in the building of socialism is the determining one, that in every action the people should rely on their own efforts. This, of course, does not exclude the sincere and disinterested internationalist aid of the socialist countries, of the international proletariat, of

the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples in the world.

During the National-liberation War, and relying on this principle, the Party aroused the whole people, for it was clear to us that freedom is not donated, but it is won through struggle, bloodshed and sacrifices. We ruthlessly exposed the deceptive maneuvers of the Ballist and Zogist traitors, and of the British and U.S. imperialists who alleged that the struggle which our people were waging and the blood they were shedding were uncalled for, for the «allies» would bring to us a ready-made freedom. On the contrary, it was precisely the heroic struggle of the people themselves that gave them the possibility of taking their destinies into their own hands and establishing their own power, which made it possible to bar all the roads to imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of our country for the purpose of bringing to power an anti-popular and pro-imperialist regime.

But while our forces were fighting on these mountains, our Party never thought of waging an isolated struggle, detached from the general antifascist front. Therefore, it integrated the National-liberation War of our people with that of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, and with that of all the peoples of the world who were fighting against nazifascism. We by no means under-rate, as the Soviet

revisionist renegade liars allege, the important role played in the liberation of Europe and our Homeland by the great heroic liberation war of Stalin's Red Army which dealt the crushing blow to the fascist hordes and created very favorable conditions also for the development of the antifascist liberation struggle of our people.

Consistently and with determination, our Party applied the principle of relying on one's own efforts after liberation as well. We asked the Soviet Union and Stalin to help us develop and build our country on socialist lines. Our request was just, pure, normal and internationalist. During Stalin's life time this assistance was given to Albania in an internationalist spirit. But our Party and our people did not sit with folded arms, for they never thought that socialism in our country would be built for us by our foreign friends. We set to work and with our own forces, which were the main factor, entirely changed the aspect of our long suffering Homeland.

This was our salvation and history showed how absolutely correct and vital was the Party directive of relying on our own efforts. As soon as the Khrushchevites came to power in the Soviet Union, the so-called credits and the few factories they gave us essentially changed their aim. Their "aid" was no longer internationalist, but had an enslaving character. The Khrushchevite renegades sought to make

our country economically and politically fully dependent on them. They demanded that, for the sake of the so-called aid, we should renounce our sovereignty, that we should become their docile and servile supplicants, that we should approve without the least objection every anti-Marxist and anti-socialist word and attitude of theirs. But they were not well acquainted with the Albanians. It is not we, but they that sell themselves for money. When the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists came out in the open and our Party began the overt fight against it, not only were all the aid and credits completely cut off, but our country was compelled to cope also with the brutal revisionist economic and political blockade. With complete success it broke the revisionist attacks and continues to advance unwaveringly on the road of socialist construction, precisely because our Party has consistently followed the principle of relying on our own resources and has placed our national economy on a solid basis so that it stands now on its own feet.

The Soviet revisionist leaders and their docile servants frantically attack Albania because she upholds this principle. They consider this as narrow nationalism and describe us as "ungrateful," for we have allegedly forgotten the aid of the Soviet Union in the struggle for liberation and in socialist construction, for

we dared to rise against their betrayal, for we dare to advance on the Marxist-Leninist road. They are repeating over and over again from Moscow radio their claim that only they have fought, alleging that they have kept us alive with their economic aid, that if it were not for this aid we would have been extinguished. With the greatest brazenness they negate and disparage the struggle of our people and of the other peoples for the destruction of fascism.

In this there is no trace of internationalism, there is nothing in common with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the teachings of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for all the peoples, big or small, make their contribution to the common cause of revolution, for internationalist aid and support between the peoples is reciprocal and not one-sided.

The detestable chauvinistic viewpoints of the Soviet revisionists raise still higher the objective, correct and internationalist assessment of our Party and of our socialist State which have, always and in due time, properly defined the character of every form of aid given to us. The character of the aid has been changed from internationalist to chauvinist, to enslaving and colonialist, by those that have given it and not by us who have received it, for it is they that have betrayed Marxism-

Leninism and proletarian internationalism; not we.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, will never reconcile ourselves with modern revisionism, with the Moscow traitors, but shall fight until they are utterly crushed. There is and there will be friendship and unity between us and the fraternal Soviet peoples and the real Soviet bolsheviks of Lenin-Stalin.

In the future too, our Party will faithfully follow the Marxist-Leninist course of relying on our own resources, being convinced that the guarantee for still greater successes, in the defence of the country's freedom and independence as well as in the building of socialism and the continuous and sure raising of the well-being of the working people, consists in the correct implementation of this principle.

The proletarian dictatorship in Albania stands on a granitic rock

Comrades,

The establishment of our People's Rule throughout the country on the 29th of November, 1944, is the greatest victory in the centuries-long history of the Albanian people. The people's power, the dictatorship of the

proletariat, is their most powerful weapon in the struggle for the new, free and happy life — socialism and communism.

The outstanding merit of the Party is that it closely connected and integrated into a single whole, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the destruction of the old, antipopular and reactionary State power, for the establishment of the people's power. The Party never allowed the bourgeoisie and the landowners to rob the people of their power or that the blood they shed should have been shed in vain. With its greatest determination it barred the road to the interference of the British and U.S. imperialists in the internal affairs of our country. This consistent line resulted in that that right after the liberation of the Homeland, there existed and acted in Albania only the new power, the people's power, which started to perform the functions of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the entire 25-year period the Party has always had the question of the people's power, its preservation and consolidation in the center of its attention, unceasingly perfecting it. It has been guided consistently by Lenin's great teaching that it is easier to seize power than to keep it. Historic experience has fully confirmed this teaching, through both positive and negative examples. It has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat

can be established as a result of the victorious socialist revolution, but it can eventually be liquidated either through the armed or the "peaceful" revisionist counter-revolution. It could also happen that after having triumphed, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be seriously endangered, the State power could be partially usurped by counter-revolutionary elements; but later on, eventually the usurpers and their poisonous ideology could be upset and smashed in a revolutionary way, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be fully re-established and successfully defended. But the complete or partial loss of the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means an inevitable fate. Historic experience has proven, likewise, that, once established, it is fully possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be preserved always pure, intact and firm in all stances and directions, continually developing and becoming perfected.

This many-sided historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a precious treasure for all the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples, for all the countries that enter the road of socialism. It must be most carefully studied through the infallible prism of Marxism-Leninism, in order to draw valuable lessons of how to advance the cause of socialism in all countries on a reliable road and with the minimum of zigzags and sacrifices.

The road traversed by the dictatorship of

the proletariat during these 25 years has not been smooth in our country either. This whole period has been permeated by a ruthless class struggle against the internal and external enemies from the landlords and merchants to the kulaks and various capitalist elements, from the armed bands of diversionists and traitorous organizations of spies and saboteurs to the deviators in the Party ranks, from the various imperialists and Greek monarcho-fascists to the Titoie and Khrushchevite modern revisionists. The class struggle has been waged unceasingly amongst the people also, against all foreign influences which poison the consciousness of the working people. This class struggle against the enemies and in the ranks of the people has been carried out in all the fields and by the most diverse means — political and economic, ideological and cultural, military and administrative. But whatever the field in which it has been waged, the class struggle has been in the last analysis, a struggle over the question of state power. In the process of this fierce class struggle, our dictatorship of the proletariat has been threatened by many dangers, overt and covert, beginning with the attempts to upset it by armed force and ending with the danger of its bureaucratization. But we have always been vigilant, struck down mercilessly and in due time all the attempts of the

enemies and we averted the dangers. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country stood and is standing like a granite rock.

The Party has taken, is taking, and will take in the future, too, all the necessary measures for the all-round and continuous strengthening and perfecting of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It has strengthened and incessantly continues to strengthen the organs of the struggle against the enemy, in the first place the people's army and the State security forces — the most powerful weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historic experience has proved indisputably that the working class power grows out of the barrel of a gun and likewise can be defended by the gun. Without a powerful revolutionary army, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot stand and exist. Therefore, the Party and the Government have not only equipped the armed forces with most up-to-date means of war, but, above all, they have displayed and are displaying the greatest solicitude for their ideological and political moulding as a conscious weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party directives and measures for the establishment of a correct relationship between men and weapons in the army, placing man on the forefront as the determining factor in war; between political and military work, placing politics in command,

between soldiers and officers for the strengthening of their relations, and the internal unity of the army, among rifle, pick and book in the army giving priority to the former — all these and other actual measures for the creation of Party committees and the designation of political commissars, for the abolition of rank and the strengthening of ties between the army and the people, are of great importance of principle and serve the further strengthening and revolutionisation of our people's army. These measures are decisive in preventing the degeneration of our people's army, of the State security armed service, in not allowing their transformation into blind tools in the hands of counter-revolution, as was the case in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where they are used to exert revisionist and social-fascist violence on the discontented people, or for the expansionist aims of Soviet revisionist imperialism.

Alongside the all-round strengthening of the people's army and the State security armed service, the Party and the people's power, as Karl Marx teaches us, have resolutely advanced on the road of the military preparation and arming of the whole people. This has not only made socialist Albania an unshakable granitic rock in face of whatever imperialist-revisionist aggression, but it also has a deep political and ideological meaning, for it represents a further perfecting of the system

of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it represents one of the most profound expressions of proletarian democracy in action, it testifies to the essentially popular character of the regime, to the people's boundless support for it. This is one of the most efficient ways for the patriotic and class-revolutionary education of the broad working masses. This means that the question of the defence of our Homeland and of our socialist order has become, and is becoming more and more of a vital question of the whole people.

Especially important to the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle which the Party has waged and is waging for the eradication of bureaucratic distortions which, as is known, served as one of the main bases of the emergence and spread of revisionism in the Soviet Union. The fight against bureaucracy is aimed at connecting the regime closely with the people, at placing it under the direct, effective and continuous control of the broad working masses, at the all-round development, the uninterrupted deepening and perfecting of socialist democracy. It also constitutes a sure guarantee that the dictatorship of the proletariat will never degenerate into a revisionist and bourgeois antipopular dictatorship, that it will always be the powerful weapon of revolution and socialist construction.

All the revisionists have the word -so-

cialist democracy» on the tips of their tongues and they speculate a great deal with it. This is a thorough-going fraud and brazen demagoguery. Where the revisionists are ruling there is not and there cannot be democracy for the working people. Modern revisionism itself, in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, is based on the bureaucratisation of the whole national life, i.e. on the negation of democracy. Look what is happening in the revisionist countries! In face of the increased resistance of the popular masses towards the revisionist course, the revisionist «liberal» dictatorship is ever more having recourse to open fascist violence. In Czechoslovakia the so-called «democracy» of Husak and of his Moscovite bosses is expressed through most brutal reprisals against the patriotic Czechoslovak people.

Our Party has never regarded socialist democracy from an empty sentimental viewpoint nor as a vain adornment or merely a preforma right of the working people. Consistently abiding by the principle of centralism, as an inevitable fundamental principle of any real proletarian dictatorship, it considers socialist democracy at the same time as a broader and more complete democracy for the working people, as an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its preservation and continuous strengthening.

Any one-sided stand on this great question of principle, any violation, either of the principle of proletarian centralism or of socialist democracy, is very dangerous to the socialist order.

The measures that have been taken for the eradication of harmful bureaucratic concepts and practices have greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, have broadened socialist democracy, have increased the broad creative initiative of the working people in all fields. Such are those for the strengthening of correct relations between the cadres and the working people, for the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratic centralism which strangles the initiatives and individual action of the base, for the enhancement of the role and competences of the elected organs and men of the State power, the active participation of the workers and peasants with their opinions and actions in the solution of State problems, the purging of legislation of foreign influences and superfluous things and, above all, the strengthening of the direct control of the working class over everything and everybody.

But we do not think, and we absolutely must not think, that we have reached the climax, that there is no more room for the further development and deepening of the mass line and socialist democracy, that all the problems have been solved and that all the difficulties and obstacles have been remo-

ved in this field, that the struggle against bureaucratism has come to an end. There remains still much to be done. Relying on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we must further deepen many correct principles and democratic forms that have already been introduced into our life. We must always be looking for new and more perfect forms and means of socialist democracy. And especially, these must not remain a matter of form, theoretic speculations, but they should be fully carried out in practice, they should become an integral part of our daily social life, they should enter into the soul and blood of all the working people. This requires that the fight against bureaucratic concepts and obstacles, which are dangerous enemies of proletarian democracy, and which, unfortunately, exist and will continue to exist for a long time yet, should not be interrupted for a single moment, but it should be continued fiercely and firmly from above and, especially, from below, with the active participation of the broad working masses.

Above all we must always preserve intact and incessantly strengthen the undivided leadership of the Party in the socialist State. This is a firm basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an indispensable and fundamental condition of its existence. The idle talk of various revisionists about the "independence" of the socialist state from the

proletarian party, are their most flagrant departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and are aimed at justifying the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the future, too, we shall advance on the road of further strengthening the Party leadership in every cell of the regime and in our social life, as a whole continuously perfecting it, fighting and rejecting all and every manifestation of formalism and bureaucratism.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government have pursued and pursue a deeply principled and consistent policy.

Comrades,

During the 25 years of free life of the Albanian people, their Party and Government, guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have pursued a thoroughly principled and consistent foreign policy. In every stage of the development of international relations this policy has fully responded to the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, to the preservation of the gains of people's revolution. Our foreign policy has always been in the service of the great cause of the peoples who are struggling for socialism, for their freedom

and national independence, for self-determination and the establishment of an international collaboration on equal rights.

Ever since her creation new people's Albania has continually clashed, in a fierce struggle, with the imperialists and their stooges who were seeking to dismember and enslave her. But our Party and our people, in a revolutionary steel-like unity have repeatedly foiled the criminal plots and beaten back the frantic attacks unleashed against our country by the U.S. and British imperialists and their running dogs.

Our people defended with self-denial and with courage their freedom and independence, the constructive work guaranteed by their State power. They courageously coped with all attempts of imperialism and international reaction to interfere in our domestic affairs, to force their dictate upon and subjugate us. Albania, which emerged from the people's revolution was not afraid of and did not retreat before the intrigues, blackmail and the campaigns of slander and denigration undertaken against her incessantly by her imperialist enemies and their tools. With her strong fist, she has smashed all armed provocations at her borders and foiled all attempts to organize and incite internal reaction against the people's regime. With wisdom and courage, our country defeated all the attempts of the imperialists and international reaction to encircle and iso-

late it from the outside world, with a view to more easily strangling and destroying it at a later stage.

The People's Republic of Albania was able to withstand all these upheavals and march victoriously onward, free and independent, on the road of socialism, for it was pursuing a principled revolutionary home and foreign policy, for it was defending a just cause on a correct course.

Our stand, our principled struggle against imperialism and world reaction, constitute a valuable experience which shows that the freedom and independence won by any people, the more so by those of a small country, can be defended only by a continuous struggle without compromise in any situation and circumstance. It also shows that only by fighting imperialism and all reactionaries can the independent existence of the socialist state and the building of the new life be guaranteed.

Our struggle against imperialism has been an active struggle, part and parcel of the joint anti-imperialist struggle of all peoples. Our Party and the Government have condemned and exposed, at every time and at every step, the aggressive and warmongering policy and activity of U.S.-led imperialism, its oppressive and enslaving aims, thereby making their contribution to the defence of peace and international security.

Alongside the struggle against imperialism

and reaction, our Party and our people have carried out a determined struggle of principle against Titoite revisionism — this rabid anti-Marxist trend, as well as against Khrushchevite revisionism — the greatest enemy of world communism. This struggle constitutes a glorious epic in the history of the Albanian Party and people. Although small in number, and alone at the beginning, we were not afraid to rise in unequal struggle against savage and powerful enemies when it was a question of defending Marxism-Leninism and communism, and we emerged victorious over them.

Our determination and courage in this clash of arms of world historic importance is not a consequence either of hot-bloodedness or of adventurism, or an expression of the specific nature of the Albanians, as the revisionists slanderously claim. They have come about as a result of the lofty revolutionary virtues of our Party, of its boundless loyalty to its people and to its world proletariat, of its Marxist-Leninist maturity. Our Party and our people bravely faced the revisionist counter-revolutionary trend, convinced that in this struggle they were defending not only the national interests of socialism in Albania from a serious threat, but also the interests of world proletariat and revolution. The difficulties we have surmounted and the sacrifices we have made during these 25 years in our uninterrupted struggle against revisionism have not been

small. But we undertook this struggle for the sake of our socialist present and future, for the sake of the future of revolution and communism throughout the world.

Life, the victories scored in the struggle against modern revisionism, have fully justified the determined and principled stand of our Party towards the most dangerous opportunist and treacherous trend that world communism has ever met with. Without our struggle against revisionism it would never have been possible for us to carry out successfully our struggle against imperialism or to defend our freedom and national independence, to carry onward the victories of people's revolution.

World experience has now very clearly proven that whoever pursues an opportunistic line, a line of concessions and capitulation on key questions of foreign policy and of international relations, such as the attitude towards revisionism, cannot fail to slip into opportunist and revisionist positions, he cannot fail to be oppressed sooner or later by the regressive and counter-revolutionary forces.

Among other very valuable lessons the long history of our clashes with the revisionists has taught, is that it has confirmed in a clearest and most understandable way the wellknown Leninist truth that in the struggle against opportunism, either internal or external, the only correct stand to take, the only

correct course to pursue in order to achieve sure victory is a persistent principled struggle without any compromises and concessions whatsoever.

The Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian people, will never stop half way in their fight against modern revisionism. Conscious of their lofty national and international duty, they will fight, as they have done so far, right to the end against the revisionist betrayal, till the complete triumph of the glorious cause of Marxism-Leninism and world revolution have been achieved.

Thanks to its heroic and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to its correct policy and attitudes in the field of international relations, the People's Republic of Albania has won for itself powerful and well-disposed friends throughout the world. It enjoys today the sympathy, respect and support of the genuine communists and revolutionaries, of all the progressive peoples and peace-loving countries.

A close fraternal, everlasting and unbreakable friendship binds the Albanian people with the Chinese people, the Party of Labor of Albania with the great Communist Party of China. It is based on the steel-like foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and there is no storm or tempest that can shake or bedim it. We are proud of having so powerful and loyal friends

and allies as the Chinese people and their glorious Communist Party.

Our people rejoice at and wholeheartedly welcome the brilliant victories which the Chinese people, under the leadership of their Communist Party and of comrade Mao Tse-tung, have achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in all fields. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and directly led by the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung, was a great revolutionary tide which set in motion the multi-million masses of the working class, the laboring peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia, and purged China of the capitalist and revisionist filth, of all the reactionary elements in the service of the class enemies, who wanted to turn the revolution backward and surrender the country to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. China emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution one-hundred times stronger than she was previously, the positions of socialism were still more deeply implanted into the Chinese soil, the People's Republic of China became invincible, it became a terror to its enemies.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which crowned the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line of renegade Liu Shao-chi, still further streng-

thened the great and glorious Communist Party of China, its revolutionary unity, and opened bright prospects to the Chinese people for their socialist future.

The theoretical principles worked out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his thought, by which the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution was guided, constitute an outstanding creative contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Shedding light on the problems of the development of socialist revolution in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists and revolutionaries of the world to promote the great cause of revolution and communism.

Our Party has pointed out on other occasions, and still continues to point out that support and backing for the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China is an important internationalist duty for all the revolutionaries in the world, that steel-like Marxist-Leninist solidarity with China is decisive for the fate of the revolution and of the liberation of the peoples.

New socialist Albania is entering the second quarter century of her free and independent existence with great international prestige and authority. She is contributing with all her might to and is playing a positive role in the process of world evolution. We view the development of the in-

ternational situation with optimism, we firmly believe in the final victory of world revolution, we have full confidence in the bright future of mankind.

The analysis of the present-day world events most convincingly proves that revolution is everywhere on the rise, the international situation is developing favorably for it and to the detriment of the imperialists and the revisionists.

The powerful waves of the world revolutionary movement are now rising on all the continents and are shaking the rotten system of capitalist exploitation, national oppression and colonial yoke to its foundations. The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is assuming ever broader proportions. A brilliant example is the Vietnamese people's struggle which has inflicted thorough-going defeats on U.S. imperialism and has upset, once and for all, the myth of invincibility of the great power and of modern armaments. The flames of the revolutionary liberation struggle have spread to Laos and Thailand, to Burma and India, to Angola and Mozambique, to Colombia and Venezuela, etc. The Arab people are putting up a powerful resistance to the Israeli-imperialist aggression and the Palestinian partisans are heroically fighting for the liberation of their plundered hearths.

In Europe, in North America and in the

developed capitalist countries, there has recently been noticed an upsurge of the revolutionary vigor which portends still greater class battles in the future. The big strikes of the workers and students in all the capitalist countries of Europe, their class struggles have shaken the old bourgeois systems and have strengthened the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses. The United States of America — the bulwark of imperialism, — is being scared to death by the widespread revolt of the black people.

Tens of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations have been and are being created in all the countries of the world. This irresistible revolutionary process testifies to the creation of a new situation in the ranks of the international working class, which is beginning to break the shackles social-democratic and revisionist parties have put on it, it is evidence to the fact that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are ever more permeating the minds and hearts of the broad working masses.

For the imperialists, revisionists, and all the other reactionaries the ground is sinking under their feet. Pinned down by the powerful revolutionary blows of the peoples, they are being ever more exposed and isolated. The contradictions, divisions and disputes between them are broadening and deepening. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are faced with great and insurmountable difficulties.

ties in their efforts to keep their satellites under control. The centrifugal, polycentrist and separatist tendencies that are apparent in both camps, have created absolute chaos. The efforts of the "big two" to wrest the allies of each other have further increased the confusion.

There is no force on earth now that can stop the triumphant march of the people, there is no force that can avert the inevitable defeat of imperialism and revisionism.

However, contrary to the revisionists who seek to arouse pacifist illusions and to lull the masses to sleep, we, Marxist-Leninists never forget that the antipopular and counter-revolutionary policy of imperialism far from being changed, has been still more intensified. Imperialism does everything in its power and throws in all its forces to strangle the revolution and socialism, to hold and consolidate the positions of reaction everywhere.

A new imperialism has now emerged on the world arena — the Soviet revisionist brand of imperialism, with pretensions to world hegemony. This cannot fail to worsen the situation and make the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation more difficult.

All the regressive reactionary forces of our time are headed by U.S. imperialism which is the worst enemy and exploiter of all the peoples, the bulwark of colonialism and the international gendarme of world reaction. The

whole policy and activity of the United States of America is aimed at subjugating the entire world, at placing under its yoke, in the first place, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and at imposing the economic, political and military domination of U.S. imperialism on the whole of the capitalist world. Above all, the main objective of U.S. imperialism remains the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, the destruction of socialism.

By its very nature, U.S. imperialism cannot live long without oppressing other peoples, without markets, without plundering raw materials. In order to ensure these things, it has extended its military bases and has sent its troops to the four corners of the earth, it frames up plots and commits open military aggressions. Its greediness is insatiable. With its dollars it buys the consciences and minds of men, even among its allies, depriving them of cadres of technical intelligentsia, thereby creating further conditions to subjugate them.

In these conditions, there exists between U.S. imperialism and its global aggressive policy on the one hand, and the peoples and their liberation and anti-imperialist struggle on the other, a deep and irreconcilable contradiction which permeates the entire present-day world policy. It is for this reason that the stand towards imperialism and, in the first place, towards U.S. imperialism, is the touch-

stone for all the political forces in the world. In practice nobody can remain an outsider in the struggle which is being waged between imperialism and the revolutionary forces. The only question that arises with regard to each political force is to know what side it will take, what course it will choose. The peoples and the true revolutionaries have now clearly defined their stand. Their main strategic direction is the all-round, irreconcilable and consistent struggle right to the end against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The peoples of the world are uniting into a broad front against U.S.-led imperialism. The incessant strengthening of this front is today a vitally important historic duty for all the revolutionaries. But for this front to be consolidated and achieve final victory, it must not fail to carry out its struggle in two directions at the same time: against U.S. imperialism and against its ally — Soviet revisionism. Today, the struggle against U.S. imperialism and that against Soviet revisionist imperialism are inseparable, they have become integrated into a single whole. It would be a very harmful and quite dangerous illusion if anyone were still to entertain illusions about the Khrushchevite revisionists and be hoodwinked by their anti-imperialist demagoguery.

One of the distinctive features of the present-day international situation is the transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the

growth of its aggressiveness and the intensification of its expansionist efforts. This is a natural and inevitable consequence of the transformation of the Soviet Union from a socialist into a capitalist country, of its abandonment of the internationalist Leninist policy and of its return to the old Czarist, chauvinistic, great-Russian policy. The restored capitalist system could not fail to impose its barbarous laws, not only on the country's internal life, but also on its foreign policy. Foreign aggression has always fomented internal fascism.

The course chosen by the Soviet revisionists to achieve their predatory objectives is the old course of the Czars and of the other imperialists, the course of deception and armed violence. Rubles and tanks, lies and blackmail, demagoguery and threats go hand in hand. But the more the Kremlin chiefs push ahead with their expansionist plans, the more difficult their internal situation and their relations with their satellites become, the more their military adventurism increases, the more armed aggression comes to the forefront as a means to overcome difficulties and contradictions. Life has confirmed with incontestable facts, that our Party was quite right when, from the very beginning, it publicly exposed the imperialist nature of the Soviet renegade leadership. The occupation of Czechoslovakia is an example which reveals the whole rottenness and degeneration of the ruling clique in the Soviet

Union, which brings into relief its real imperialist countenance, as a sworn enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia was not an isolated case, nor a unique event which cannot be repeated, but the first manifestation of the practical application of a fascist-styled aggressive and chauvinistic policy, a starting-point for still greater adventures against the freedom and independence of other peoples. It is a fact that at the same time with the occupation of Czechoslovakia the Soviets carried out in quiet also the strengthening of their military occupation forces in Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Mongolia, where fresh Soviet troops were rushed in to preserve the imperial order of the Moscow revisionists. It is a fact that now the threats of the Soviet revisionists towards Rumania's independence have assumed very concrete character and the plans and aims to attack Yugoslavia and Albania are no longer kept secret.

The expansionist great-Russian policy of the Soviet revisionist-imperialists is very clearly expressed also in the armed provocations which they have carried out along their borders with China. They have now concentrated numerous troops in their Eastern provinces. They have increased their military arsenal and are heading for an aggressive war against the People's Republic of China. How far the

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madness of the adventurers now ruling in the Kremlin will go, this no one knows. One thing, however, is certain: Should they ever attempt to test their strength against the Chinese giant, this will be their undoing. The Soviet revisionists will be completely and utterly destroyed.

In order to carry out their expansionist aims, the Soviet leaders are now resorting to the Warsaw Treaty which they have turned into an instrument of oppression and aggression. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty for political, military and ideological reasons, because its character and aim had changed. From a treaty set up for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist states, for the defence of the peoples and peace, it was transformed into a treaty for the enslavement of its member countries and into a means of the dangerous Soviet imperialist plot against the peoples and international security.

In these conditions, to remain in the Warsaw Treaty would mean to approve the aggressive actions and aims of this treaty, to support and become partners of an imperialist power, to approve the aggression against Czechoslovakia and the other predatory plans of the Soviet revisionists. If we had remained in this treaty, we would not have been Marxists. Leninism teaches us that the communists must never allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the "socialist" slogans with which the aggres-

sors camouflage themselves, they must never become defenders of imperialism, whatever the color and form in which it may appear. To act otherwise means to fall into the opportunist positions of the traitors of the second Internationale, who spread illusions about imperialism and shortly afterwards became its open collaborators and social-chauvinists. Reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists, allegedly on behalf of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, means to become a supporter of an imperialism which is just as savage and barbarous as the other, it means to become a collaborator of one imperialism against another imperialism in their struggle for superiority, zones of influence and world domination.

In their efforts to dominate and to plunder the peoples of their riches, the Soviet revisionists are even trying to justify «theoretically» their policy of great-state chauvinism, to present it as Marxist-Leninist, as the acme of proletarian internationalism. In a word, they seek to disguise the wolf under a lambskin. Such is the ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty» set forth by the arch-revisionist Brezhnev, by which the Soviet revisionists want to secure for themselves the right to interfere in and occupy other countries. Through this reactionary theory, they seek to compel others to betray and trample underfoot the purest and highest aspirations cherished by nations and peoples, to safeguard their freedom and defend

their sovereignty, they try to have them capitulate and, thus, pave the way to Soviet revisionist occupation. Painting it in Marxist colors, the Soviet revisionists aim, likewise, to extend their imperialist theory to the communist movement as well, to compel the other parties to give up their independence and submit to the conductor's baton of Moscow in everything, thus, becoming an appendage of the Soviet foreign policy.

But such detestable fascist theories do not hold water. The defence of the sovereignty and independence of the socialist, as well as of all the other countries from imperialism or from any other enemy, can be realized not by limiting them or by leaving them in the hands of the revisionist wolves, but by waging an uninterrupted battle against imperialism and revisionism on all questions. Never can a country be sovereign, and less so a socialist one, when it is completely enslaved or partly occupied by an imperialist or chauvinist great power. It enjoys its sovereignty and independence only when it implements a resolute line for the defence of the just principles of freedom, independence and sovereignty, relying on its own efforts and on the internationalist solidarity of the international working class and of the revolutionary peoples.

Now a great responsibility rests on the Soviet People. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by the fascist propaganda with

which the revisionist renegades are seeking to poison their minds. The Khrushchevite leaders are trying to confuse them, to incite their basest nationalist and chauvinist feelings, in order to turn them into an obedient mass which will blindly carry out their adventurous plans. We hope that the Soviet people have not forgotten the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, that the spirit of communism and internationalist solidarity is always alive in their hearts. We believe that the Soviet soldier who crossed Europe and fought in Asia to destroy fascism and to bring freedom to the peoples, will not take this road for the second time in order to rob other peoples of their freedom and to establish the new revisionist brand of fascism. It is against the usurper's clique that he should use the weapons given to him to enslave others so that he may restore his country's former glory, its name and honor which the traitors and renegades have trampled underfoot.

The freedom and independence of all the peoples, peace and international security are now endangered by the Soviet-U.S. imperialist bloc. Today this bloc represents the blackest reaction, most perfidious and most dangerous counter-revolutionary force ever known to mankind.

The Soviet-U.S. ~~holy alliance~~ is now developing to unprecedented proportions in all the fields — economic, political and military.

The two super powers need each other's help for the realization of their hegemonic and dominating aims and continually coordinate their plans and activities in compliance with their global strategy for the domination of the world. They are preparing and carrying out various predatory wars through which they seek to keep the peoples under their bondage, to suppress revolution.

Of course, as insatiable imperialist powers, the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union also have great contradictions between them, they contend with each other and each plans to liquidate the other. The system of the Soviet-U.S. alliances, essentially a counter-revolutionary one, not only does not exclude but includes in its essence divisions, disputes and contradictions which do not allow them to act in harmony and unity. When these contradictions reach their climax, when the question arises for the redivision of each other's zones of influence, they can even break into armed conflicts between them. But at present the counter-revolutionary alliance is at a stage of consolidation and expansion. That which unites them today is more important than what divides them. In the first place, in order to survive, to preserve their great Empires, to keep their positions of super-powers, both sides are compelled to draw nearer to each other and to collaborate, making their struggle against revolution, socialism and the

liberation efforts of the peoples a basis for safeguarding their system, their fundamental aim of realizing their expansionist and enslaving strategy.

In the present conjuncture, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism are trying to come to terms without encroaching upon each other's own domain, to keep their European satellites well under control, to play down their imperialist disputes and contradictions so as to clear the field for throwing themselves with all their might into the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples and what is essential for them, to spearhead their joint struggle against great People's China, the impregnable bastion of Marxism-Leninism and of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists strive now to encircle China with a ring of fire and then to quell down the Chinese revolution and to destroy the People's Republic of China. It is for this purpose that the Washington administrations with Truman, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Dulles and ending with Johnson and Nixon have been working day and night for twenty years in succession. They concentrated immense military forces in the Pacific, they signed one pact after another with their Asian puppets and stepped up their large-scale military provocations to test the resistance of the Chinese fortress. But great

People's China stood firm and, with its strong fist, smashed all the attempts of U.S. imperialism to test their strength. The same fate lies in store also for the new joint imperialist-revisionist plans and efforts against the People's Republic of China.

One of the distinctive features of the present international situation is the fact that the world proletariat is becoming conscious of its strength. The working masses who are languishing under the capitalist and revisionist yoke are discovering and getting better and better acquainted with the cause of their plight and are rejecting with contempt the demagoguery and cynicism of the ruling classes. Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering ideology of scientific socialism, is even better inspiring the world proletariat, blazing the road to the oppressed masses to revolt.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to keep things quiet, to preserve the status quo and their alliances. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, all those who hate oppression and exploitation, do not want the sort of peace the imperialists and revisionists are seeking to force upon the world, they do not want a reactionary status quo which only consolidates the division of the world between the two imperialist super powers, they are opposed to counter-revolutionary alliances which are aimed at enslaving

the peoples, at depriving them of their freedom and independence.

The imperialists and revisionists are loudly advertising their so-called peaceful coexistence; but the people, the revolutionaries reject with contempt this monstrous fraud which aims at sanctioning the imperialist rule in the world, at quelling the revolutionary struggles and at permitting them to carry out their aggressive, predatory wars. The people and revolutionaries stand for the peaceful coexistence proclaimed by Lenin, which can never be extended to the sphere of ideology, the class struggle and revolution and liberation struggles. They resolutely reject, likewise, the bluff of "total disarmament" which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are advertising and which is aimed at disarming others before the imperialist-revisionist aggressors, at preserving their nuclear monopoly for themselves and at increasing their armaments.

The savage capitalist exploitation, whether U.S. imperialist or Soviet revisionist, is equally intolerable to the peoples who are fighting and will fight with still more determination to get rid of. The greatest class antagonism of our time is that which exists between the imperialist-revisionists, on the one hand, and the peoples, on the other. It keeps sharpening and is expressed in the big class battles on a national and international scale, which are being.

carried out with much success in favor of the peoples.

Irrespective of the zigzags of the present world developments, the future belongs to revolution, to socialism. It is a fact that the world proletariat is being convinced from the experience of its daily struggle, that, in order to build a new world free of oppressors and exploiters, it must first destroy the old world to its foundations, a thing which can be done only in a revolutionary way, through armed violence.

Certainly, the world revolution will not break out nor will it win in the course of one day. The struggle will be a protracted and arduous one and will require many sacrifices, but the idea of revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will follow its onward course nonstop. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the world proletariat will certainly perform its lofty historic mission, it will know how to cope bravely with the open and underhand attacks of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist lackeys, it will know how to carry through to the end the cause of socialism and communism.

The triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries is sure to come

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, tirelessly working for the building of socialism in their country, follow attentively and with keen vigilance the development of the present-world situation. At the same time, they carry out a broad activity in the field of international relations, in accord with the correct revolutionary principles of our foreign policy.

Our Party and Government, just as they have done so far, will strengthen in the future, too, their relation of friendship, collaboration and fraternal mutual aid with the socialist countries with which we are united by our common ideals of socialism and communism, by our common aims and struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Today new Albania represents an important factor of peace and progress in the world. She has implemented and continues to implement in a principled and persistent manner her policy of good neighborhood and of normal relations between states of different social systems, based on the principles of noninterference and respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Albanian people have been and will always be on the side of the peoples and will give their firm support to all the revolutionary

forces fighting for national and social liberation, for building a new world free of capitalists and colonialists, to all those fighting for the sacred cause of freedom, independence and social progress.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam has been continuing for 10 years now. Even though the U.S. imperialists have actually lost the war on the battlefield and have been discredited before the eyes of the whole world, they have not given up their efforts to force the Vietnamese people to their knees, to enslave them and to turn their country into a base for new aggressions against the peoples of South-east and all Asia.

Aided by the Soviet revisionists, who have exerted all their efforts to save their U.S. allies from their inevitable defeat as a compensation for their hands off attitude towards the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the U.S. aggressors are now doing everything in their power to achieve at the conference table what they have been unable to achieve by means of arms.

But the Vietnamese people, who by their courage, wisdom and clarity have overcome situations more difficult than the present one, will know how to cope with the frauds of the imperialists and with the pressures of those who pose as their friends but who stab them in their back. They have never been forced to their knees and their long experience of

revolutionary struggle has taught them that complete and sure victory over the aggressors can be achieved through an armed tit-for-tat struggle against their enemies.

The Albanian people have been and will always be at one with the just revolutionary liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people; they have supported and will resolutely support their legitimate aspirations to freedom and national independence and the unification of their arbitrarily divided homeland.

Czechoslovakia is languishing under the unbearable occupation of the Soviet revisionists. The new occupationists are suppressing by fire and sword the Czechoslovak people's will and efforts to win back their freedom and national independence which have been trampled underfoot, to defend their violated honor and dignity. But Czechoslovakia has become a gangrenous wound for the Soviet revisionist occupationists, she has become the pillory the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade ruling clique at the Kremlin has been set in at present. The traitorous Czechoslovak rulers and the slavish pledges they have made to the occupationists, the endless visits of marshals and Quislings from Prague to Moscow and viceversa cannot save the situation.

The Czechoslovak people are demonstrating to the whole world that neither treachery, nor the regime of terror, neither fraud nor emergency laws can stop their resistance, their

lawful liberation struggle. Nothing can suppress the Czechoslovak people's ideals of freedom and independence, of revolution and socialism, which they preserve in their hearts, nothing can quell down their desire and determination to fight by all means and in every way until complete victory has been achieved.

Just as we condemned the August 21 occupation of Czechoslovakia, we express with the same determination our solidarity with and our deep fraternal sympathy for the Czechoslovak people. We have been and will always be on their side in the legitimate liberation struggle they are waging against the revisionist occupationists and local traitors.

The Albanian people have supported and will support the just struggle of the fraternal Arab people against the Israeli-imperialist aggression. Despite the great difficulties that have arisen for the Arab people, not only as a result of the occupation of their territories by Israel and of the continuation of its aggression, but also due to the interference of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist imperialists in this conflict, we firmly believe that the final victory will belong to the Arab people.

The two imperialist super powers, seeking to attribute to themselves the right of an arbitrator in the Middle East, are the most savage enemies of the Arab people. They want to introduce the conflict which has broken out

in this area into the framework of their bargainings to divide the spheres of influences, to take possession of the great riches of the Middle East and of the strategic positions of this zone. They are seeking to force upon the Palestinian people, whose armed struggle is an important factor for the restoration of their rights and the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, and upon all the Arabs solutions which run counter to the national interests of the Arab people and which create conditions which would cost them their freedom and independence and place them under the yoke of neocolonialism.

The Arab people are able to solve their problems themselves and to give Israel what it deserves. And they can certainly achieve this, relying in the first place on their own forces and on the support of their real friends — the revolutionary peoples, all the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist forces.

Recently, the Soviet revisionists and some West European countries, behind which stands the United States of America, have been making a fuss and drafting plans about a certain so-called European security. That there is need for security for the countries on our continent, this is true. But first it should be explained, who should be secured and from whom. The «European security» which is demanded by the Soviet revisionists and backed up by the U.S. imperialists means security for their zones

of influence in Europe, security for their military bases and for the right of their fleets to control the European sea-coasts, it means that the peoples of Europe should legally and officially recognize Moscow's and Washington's right to special privileges of an imperialist and colonialist character they enjoy in various European countries. Such a security means, in the final analysis, to preserve and perpetuate in Europe the status quo of the Soviet-U.S. domination, to ensure tranquillity on this continent so that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists may have a free hand to act as they choose in Asia, Africa and everywhere else to subjugate and enslave the peoples, to strengthen the exploiting capitalist regime both at home and in their respective Empires.

The peoples of Europe abhor such a «security» and will never accept it. They cannot allow themselves to fall into the diabolical traps which are being laid by the imperialist great powers, they cannot leave their destinies to the mercy of the American and Soviet chiefs, they will not permit themselves to become cannon-fodder in carrying out the Soviet-U.S. plans for world domination. They are being threatened by U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism, and it is precisely against these that real European security should be directed.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, who have bravely and in a revolu-

tionary way repulsed frantic imperialist and revisionist attacks, are convinced that despite the efforts they are making, neither U.S. imperialism nor Soviet revisionism nor both of them, are in a position to change the general course of world history, which will inevitably lead to the complete defeat of imperialism and revisionism and to the triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries.

Under the leadership of our Party the future of our people and of our country is brilliant indeed

Comrades,

All the great historic victories achieved by our people during these twenty five years are due to the correct, wise and determined Marxist-Leninist leadership of their glorious Party of Labor.

It was the Party that aroused the people in the National-liberation War against the fascist occupationists and traitors, that led them to final victory, that made possible the overthrow of the reactionary exploiting classes and the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Thanks to the correct line and resolute stand of the Party, the hard-won

freedom was preserved and strengthened, all doors were shut to imperialist interference, and the country's independent economic, political and social development on the road of socialism was ensured. The Party stood always on the forefront of the people's gigantic efforts to overcome the terrible backwardness inherited from the past, it correctly directed and led them in their struggle for the building of socialism. To the correct leadership of the Party of Labor, to its unshakable loyalty towards the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism, is due the failure of the attempts of all the enemies, open and underhand, in particular of the Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionists, to turn our people away from the bright road of socialism.

The brilliant balance-sheet of victories with which our people come to this great jubilee is at the same time a balance-sheet of the struggle, work and activity of the Party of Labor of Albania. That is the most eloquent proof of the always correct Marxist-Leninist line which it has pursued in all the stages.

Therefore, our people are linked with their Party of Labor like flesh to bone. They see in the Party leadership the source of all their victories, the safeguard of their vital interest and their most reliable guarantee for future victories, for the complete

and final triumph of socialism and communism.

The strength and invincibility of our people in the face of all the tests of history, however severe they may have been, rests in their monolithic unity around the Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party in any situation rests in its indissoluble ties with the people, in the boundless support the people give to it. In this steel-like party-people unity rests the strength and invincibility of our socialist Homeland in the face of any danger. Let us preserve this militant unity like the apple of our eye and let us strengthen it ever more!

The magnificent victories of these 25 years, particularly the very good results which are being achieved during the 4th five-year plan period, have created a solid foundation for new and still greater successes on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

An important stride on this road will be made under the new five-year plan, 1971-1975, the main objectives of which have, in general lines, been crystallized by the Party and the Government.

The 5th five-year plan will be one of a new qualitative rise in the general development of the country's productive forces. That will be the five-year plan of the development in depth and of the further intensification of industry, through the deep processing of mi-

nerals and oil, of the extension and strengthening of all its branches, especially of the machine-building, chemical, electric power, building materials and other branches. New branches of industry will be created, such as the industry of iron-nickel metallurgy, the steel production industry and other branches of the chemical industry which are of exceptional importance to the independent development of our national economy, to a better and more complete exploitation of our natural resources. Thus, the role of industry in the development of all the other economic branches will increase further.

This five-year plan will be at the same time the plan of the greatest intensification of agriculture, of the further increase of agricultural and livestock products. It will raise mechanisation of agriculture to a higher degree, it will greatly increase labor productivity, it will be the five-year plan of big and numerous irrigation works, especially in the hilly and mountainous areas, so that in the not distant future the overwhelming part of the cultivated land area will be brought under irrigation.

On the basis of the all-round and rapid development of the socialist economy and of the deepening of the ideological and political revolution, an appreciable rise of the living standards of the working masses will be achieved.

Under the 5th five-year plan another

important forward stride will be made on the road of the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture, between mental and manual work, towards the complete building of the socialist society.

The prospects are clear, the future of our people and of our Homeland is bright. Today we are already seeing the contours of our happier future taking shape in vivid colors.

The magnificent successes we have achieved and the brilliant prospects that are open to our country fill us with revolutionary optimism and increase tenfold our faith in our own forces.

Inspired by this wonderful situation, under the tried and tested unwavering Marxist-Leninist leadership of the glorious Party of Labor, let us always proudly hold high the red banner of revolution and socialism in our beloved Homeland and lead it forward, always forward, towards the new peaks of socialism and communism!

— Long live the glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution!

— May our wonderful people, who are marching fearlessly on the road of socialism, live in centuries!

— Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania,

the beloved leader and organizer of all the
victories of our people!
— Glory to all-conquering Marxism-
Leninism!

(Reproduced from the «Zëri i Popullit»
daily, dt. 29.XI.1969).

N. B. Subtitles by the «Zëri i Popullit» daily.

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